

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 RSR-01 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

EUR-25 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AECE-00 AEC-11

OIC-04 ACDA-19 OMB-01 /153 W
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P R 221444 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8945

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 477

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 4268

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING MAY 21

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSED TACTICS FOR MAY 21
INFORMAL " LOBBYING" SESSION WITH PACT REPS, AND APPROVED A
PRESENTATION ELABORATING ALLIED AGENDA PROPOSALS. (TEXT
SEPTEL). GROUP THEN DISCUSSED PLANS FOR AN INITIAL WORKING DRAFT
OF A POSSIBLE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, WHICH WOULD BE PRESENTED TO
PACT IF AND WHEN IT APPEARS THAT NO AGREEMENT ON AGENDA
CAN BE REACHED. IN THE COURSE OF THIS DISCUSSION, IT APPEARED
THAT ALL DELEGATIONS BUT ITALIAN ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT VIENNA
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AS SITE FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FALL, AND ITALIAN REP AGREED TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. UNDER THE HEADING OF BILATERALS, US REP REPORTED THAT HE HAD AN APPOINTMENT TO SEE ROMANIAN REP CONSTANTINESCU. HE SOUGHT AND RECEIVED GROUP APPROVAL TO STATE STRONG ALLIED OBJECTIONS TO TWO WEEKEND PRESS STORIES WHICH CONTAINED THE ROMANIAN AGENDA PROPOSALS, ONE ACTUALLY GIVING AN INTERVIEW WITH ROMANIAN DEP REP POPESCU AS SOURCE.

3. THE GROUP DISCUSSED AND SLIGHTLY REVISED A DRAFT " FURTHER PRESENTATION OF WESTERN VIEWS ON AGENDA" (TEXT SEPTEL) WHICH HAD BEEN DRAFTED BY THE US, UK, FRG, CANADIAN, AND NETHERLANDS REPS. THIS PAPER IS TO BE PRESENTED ORALLY BY THE CANADIAN REP AT THE INFORMAL " LOBBYING SESSION" WITH THE PACT REPS, AND THE TEXT DISTRIBUTED AT THE NEXT PLENARY. TERM " LOBBYING SESSION" WAS PROPOSED BY BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN TO DESCRIBE MEETINGS OF REPS OF FOUR PACT STATES (SOVIET UNION, POLAND, GDR, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA) WITH A GROUP OF REPS OF FOUR WESTERN STATES (MAY 21 TO BE US, UK, FRG, AND CANADA; MAY 22 CANADA TO BE REPLACED BY NETHERLANDS) IN A MANNER ACCEPTABLE TO HIS AUTHORITIES. GROUP ALSO DISCUSSED TACTICS FOR QUESTIONING AND OBJECTING TO PACT AGENDA IDEAS, BASING THE DISCUSSION ON TALKING POINTS PREPARED BY US, UK, FRG, CANADIAN, AND NETHERLANDS REPS.

4. DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO CONSIDERATION OF A DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WHICH MIGHT BE ADVANCED BY THE ALLIES IN THE EVENT THAT IT PROVES IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON A SATISFACTORY AGENDA. BASIS OF DISCUSSION WAS AN INFORMAL WORKING DRAFT WHICH US REP HAD CIRCULATED ON PERSONAL BASIS BASED ON MODIFICATIONS OF AN EARLIER FRG DRAFT. TEXT AS REVISED BY GROUP IS GIVEN AT END OF THIS MESSAGE, AND DESCRIPTION OF DISCUSSION IS KEYED TO THIS TEXT.

5. US REP NOTED THAT WHEN ALLIES ATTEMPT TO MOVE FROM DISCUSSION OF AGENDA TO DRAFTING OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE, THE TRANSITION SHOULD BE AS SMOOTH AS POSSIBLE. CONSEQUENTLY, THE INITIAL ALLIED PRESENTATION SHOULD CONSIST ONLY RPT ONLY OF PARA 2 OF DRAFT RATHER THAN COMPLETE COMMUNIQUE. IN THE EVENT THAT LANGUAGE INCLUDING MBFR PROVES UNACCEPTABLE TO PACT, ALLIES MIGHT THEN
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MOVE TO ALTERNATE PARA 2, WHICH PRESERVES THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ALLIED POSITION WITHOUT THE TITLE. FOLLOWING THE CONCEPT OF THE EARLIER FRG DRAFT, PARA 2 IS DRAFTED SO AS TO MAKE THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION TO THE ALTERNATE AS EASY AS POSSIBLE. PARAS 1, 3, AND 4 WOULD BE INTRODUCED ONLY AFTER REACHING SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT ON PARA 2, BUT AD HOC GROUP SHOULD CONSIDER TEXT AS A WHOLE. US REP STRESSED THAT PAPER WAS ONLY WORKING

DRAFT BUT NOTED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO START SOMEWHERE WITH SOVIETS.

6. UK REP (THOMSON) SUPPORTED THIS CONCEPT, OBSERVING THAT THE SOVIETS ARE IN A STRONG TACTICAL POSITION REGARDING AGENDA BECAUSE ALLIES' PREFERRED AGENDA IS LONGER THAN THEIRS, WHILE THE ITEMS ON THE SOVIET AGENDA ARE IN THEMSELVES DIFFICULT TO OBJECT TO. HE PREDICTED THAT THE ALLIES WOULD NOT GET SOVIET AGREEMENT TO AN ACCEPTABLE AGENDA, AND WOULD THEREFORE IN ACCORDANCE WITH NAC INSTRUCTIONS HAVE TO TRY TO GET A FINAL COMMUNIQUE. SINCE NAC INSTRUCTIONS ARE TO PRESERVE THE ALLIANCE POSITION ON THE AGENDA, IT WILL HAVE TO BE MADE CLEAR THAT THE COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS NOT AN AGENDA BUT A DESCRIPTION, AND THAT AGENDA WILL BE DISCUSSED FURTHER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS PROPER. SINCE THIS WOULD UNDERCUT THE SOVIET POSITION, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO GET SOVIET AGREEMENT TO DO SO. THE PROPOSED PARA 2 OFFERS THE BEST PROSPECTS FOR DOING SO, BY SHOWING HOW THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SOVIET AGENDA POSITION MIGHT BE WORKED INTO A FINAL COMMUNIQUE. AT THE SAME TIME, HE CONSIDERED IT UNLIKELY THAT THE EXCELLENT PARA 2 LANGUAGE WILL SURVIVE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PACT. THE UK AUTHORITIES ARE PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE ABOUT THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, AND HOPE THAT OTHER ALLIES WILL DO LIKEWISE.

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P R 221444 Z MAY 73
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8946
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
MBFR CAPITALS 478
USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

7. US REP AGREED THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT DRAFT AND ITS FORMULATIONS BE CONSIDERED AS A FLEXIBLE WORKING DOCUMENT, SO THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT TIE THEIR OWN HANDS. TURNING TO THE TEXT, HE NOTED THAT THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1 HAD BEEN DRAFTED SO AS TO AVOID THE NECESSITY FOR MULTIPLE LISTS OF PARTICIPANTS WHICH WOULD EMPHASIZE HUNGARY'S SPECIAL STATUS AND WHICH WOULD BE LONGER THAN THE REMAINDER OF THE COMMUNIQUE. PARAGRAPH 2 WAS SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME AS THE EARLIER FRG VERSION, EXCEPT THAT THE WORD "LEVELS" HAD BEEN DROPPED. THE REASON FOR DROPPING THIS WORD WAS TO AVOID GIVING THE PACT A POSSIBLE OPENING TO PROPOSE AN FLA

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AT THE OUTSET OF NEGOTIATIONS, A STEP WHICH COULD WELL BE DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE REASONS SET FORTH IN THE PAPER THE US HAD PRESENTED TO THE NAC. THE FRG DEP REP (HOFFMANN) OBSERVED THAT THE DELETION OF THE WORD "LEVELS"-- WHICH HE AGREED TO -- WOULD NOT COMPLETELY RULE OUT AN FLA. HIS AUTHORITIES WERE PERSUADED BY THE US ARGUMENTS AGAINST A VAGUE FLA, BUT STILL THOUGHT A DETAILED FRLA COULD BE USEFUL.

8. FRG DEPREP SUGGESTED THAT DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WOULD APPEAR MORE ATTRACTIVE TO SOVIETS IF PLACE OF NEGOTIATIONS WERE LISTED - "VIENNA" INSTEAD OF "BLANK." UK REP SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO ACCEPT VIENNA AT A MOMENT WHEN AN ALLIED CONCESSION APPEARED TACTICALLY USEFUL, AND GROUP AGREED. ITALIAN DEPREP (TALIANI) STATED THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT HIS AUTHORITIES BEFORE ACCEPTING VIENNA AT ALL, SINCE THERE WAS SOME THOUGHT IN ROME ABOUT A PACKAGE DEAL ON THE SITES OF CSCE AND MBFR. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) NOTED THAT THE SWISS AUTHORITIES HAD INFORMED HIS GOVERNMENT THAT SWITZERLAND WOULD BE WILLING TO HOST MBFR IF ASKED TO DO SO BY BOTH SIDES, THOUGH WITHOUT MUCH ENTHUSIASM. US REP OBSERVED THAT CSCE PHASE II SITE MIGHT WELL NOT BE DETERMINED UNTIL THE MINISTERIAL STAGE AT THE END OF JUNE, AND THAT MBFR COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE WRAPPED UP BEFORE THEN. GREEK REP (SEKERIS) STATED THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS, BUT WAS CERTAIN HE WOULD RECEIVE AUTHORITY TO ACCEPT VIENNA AT TACTICALLY SUITABLE MOMENT. ALL OTHER REPS WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT VIENNA, ESPECIALLY SINCE ENTIRE PACKAGE IS TO BE AD REF TO THE NAC IN ANY CASE. ITALIAN DEPREP STATED HE WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTING ACCEPTANCE OF VIENNA.

9. UTRKISH REP (TULUMEN) RAISED OBJECTION TO LAST SENTENCE OF
PARAGRAPH 3 BECAUSE IT SINGLED OUT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. US REP
POINTED OUT THAT IT DID NOT LIMIT THE RIGHT OF FLANK PARTICANTS
TO SPEAK AND CIRCULATE PAPERS AS GUARANTEED BY THE PROCEDURES
PAPER;
ON THE OTHER HAND TI WAS INTENDED TO PREVENT ROMANIA FROM INSISTING
THAT A PARTICULAR SUBJECT BE DISCUSSED. IN THE SUBSEQUENT
DISCUSSION, THE FOLLOWING POINTS WERE BROGHT OUT: THE UK REP
STATED A VERY STRONG DESIRE THAT THE ALLIES BE ABLE AS AMATTER
OF RIGHT TO ADD ANY SUBJECT TO THE AGENDA, SO THAT THE PACT WOULD
BE UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO DISCUSS IT. FOR THIS REASON HE FAVORED
THE SENTENCE AS IT STOOD, THOUGH HE HAD DOUBTS THAT THE SOVIETS
WOULD ACCEPT IT. THE NETHERLANDS EP OBSERVED THAT WE COULD NOT
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REQUIRE THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ON ANY TOPIC UNLESS
THEY WISHED TO DO SO, AND THE FRG DEPREP ADDED THAT THEREMIGHT
NOT BE A FORMAL AGENDA WORKED OUT IN ADVANCE, BUT RAHTER
A SERIES AGREEMENTS ON WHAT TO DISCUSS NEXT. THE UK REP
THOUGHT THAT IN REALITY THE ALLIES WOULD FIND THEMSELVES
AGREEING TO DISCUSS A SOVIET TOPIC IN EXCHANGE FOR SOVIET
AGREEMENT TO PARALLEL DISCUSSION OF A WESTERN TOPIC, AND THAT IN
THIS CIRCUMSTANCE IT WOULD BE ESPECIALLY VALUABLE THAT SOVIETS COULD
NOT CLAIM THAT A GIVEN WESTERN TOPIC WAS OUT OF ORDER. FRG REP
EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF AN AGREEMENT ALLOWING THE
SOVIETS TO ADD ANYTH
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NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

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P R 221444 Z MAY 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8947
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
MBFR CAPITALS 479
USMISSION GENEVA
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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

BEGIN TEXT. DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

1. PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE TOOK PLACE IN VIENNA FROM JANUARY 31, 1973, TO -----, 1973. PARTICIPATION IN AND PROCEDURES FOR THESE CONSULTATIONS WERE AS SET FORTH IN THE CHAIRMAN'S RECORD OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF MAY 14, 1973, WHICH IS APPENDED.

2. IN THE COURSE OF THESE CONSULTATIONS, IT WAS DECIDED THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WILL TAKE PLACE AMONG REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
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SAME STATES BEGINNING ON (SPECIFIC DATE IN SEPTEMBER/ OCTOBER 1973), IN ----- . IT WAS AGREED THAT THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE TO ENHANCE MILITARY STABILITY IN EUROPE THROUGH APPROPRIATE AGREEMENTS AND MEASURES CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES AND REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IT WAS CONSIDERED THAT THIS OBJECTIVE COULD BEST BE REACHED BY A STEP BY STEP PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS. IT WAS AGREED THAT POSSIBLE MEASURES OR AGREEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE BALANCED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY WILL AT NO POINT BE TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE SECURITY OF STATES CONCERNED.

3. IT WAS AGREED THAT PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURES IN THE AUTUMN NEGOTIATIONS WILL ALSO BE AS SET FORTH IN THE CHAIRMAN'S RECORD OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF MAY 14, 1973. A USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON AN AGENDA FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS TOOK PLACE. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT WAS DECIDED THAT POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN FUTURE AGREEMENTS WOULD DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO INCLUDE IN THE AGENDA ANY TOPIC WHICH IS RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT MATTER.

4. THE PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED THEIR GRATITUDE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA FOR THE CONSIDERATE ASSISTANCE AND FACILITIES IT PROVIDED DURING THE CONSULTATIONS AND FOR ITS AGREEMENT THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGINNING IN THE AUTUMN OF THIS YEAR MAY TAKE PLACE IN VIENNA.

ALTERNATE PARA 2

2. IN THE COURSE OF THESE CONSULTATIONS, IT WAS DECIDED THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON ARMED FORCE ACTIVITIES AND MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WILL TAKE PLACE AMONG REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SAME STATES, BEGINNING ON (SPECIFIC DATE IN SEPTEMBER/ OCTOBER 1973), IN ----- . IT WAS AGREED THAT THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE TO ENHANCE MILITARY STABILITY IN EUROPE BY APPROPRIATE MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, INCLUDING REDUCTIONS OF FORCES. IT WAS CONSIDERED THAT THIS OBJECTIVE COULD BEST BE REACHED BY A STEP BY STEP PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS. IT WAS AGREED THAT POSSIBLE MEASURES OR AGREEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE BALANCED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY WILL AT NO POINT BE TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE SECURITY OF STATES CONCERNED. HUMES

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